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to be waged to the point where a permanent peace may be secured for every nation.

It is not true

that the efforts for international conciliation have been proved fallacious. *The truth is* that these efforts, had they not been interrupted by the outbreak of this war, would have made it possible in time to avert war altogether.

It is not true

that the work of The Hague has been in vain. *The truth is* that the present war shows how much nations are forced to appeal to their work at The Hague and to demand that it be respected, so that it may be assumed that the people will regard The Hague peace guarantees more seriously in the future.

It is not true

that the pacifists believed "Universal Peace" was already secured, and that their belief has been refuted by the outbreak of the world war. *The truth is* that they did not consider permanent peace assured; otherwise they would have ceased their work. They continued because they had realized the impending danger, and sought to show how to avoid it.

It is not true

that the pacifists strove for an "Eternal Peace." *The truth is* that they are striving for a condition of peaceful intercourse between civilized nations based upon law, co-operation, and mutual confidence.

It is not true

that the pacifists are striving toward a phantasy called the "Federation of Europe." *The truth is* that they have in mind a voluntary federation of several nations, founded on the mutual recognition of one another's obligations, which would form a basis for an organized family of nations.

It is not true

that the pacifists stand for total disarmament so that their countries would be undefended. *The truth is* that they never spoke of total disarmament, but primarily only of a *limitation of armaments* to be brought about by the common action of all nations.

It is not true

that the pacifists believe that all disputes can be settled by an arbitration court. *The truth is* that they are convinced that even the most serious conflicts of interests can be settled in a peaceful manner by mutual agreement, or by a delay and an investigation of the dispute, especially when the system by which States guarantee mutual security shall have deprived conflicts of their menacing character.

It is not true

that it is only by armaments that peace can be assured. *The truth is* that the very system of unbearable piling up of armaments has caused this

world war which no people and no government wanted.

(Translated from the German by John Mez, Ph. D.)

War.

By Frank C. Reigter.

The Right—two seeming wrongs hath never made;
Nor combat cured the canker of a grudge.
Love cannot be dispensed on glist'ning blade,
Nor can Peace rule while "human will" is judge.
'Tis pride of conquest profligates the soul,
And pampers false ambition's rising flood;
Till man—no longer man—upon the shoal
Of Hate, wrecks all in surging seas of blood.
Each side from narrow viewpoint dorth but see
The injured self; and in each mortal breast,
The heart, o'erwhelmed by passion's mastery,
Doth entertain Revenge as favored guest;
And, heeding this foul demon's false decree,
Falls—victim of War's murd'rous tyranny.

To a Finish.*

By Senator Henri La Fontaine, of Brussels, Belgium.

This is the unanimous cry of the belligerents! In Germany and in Austria, as in France, in England, and in Belgium, this cry goes forth with a rare misunderstanding of what it means.

A fight to a finish! To the finish of what? Of militarism will be the answer; but nobody reflects on the terrible sacrifices, the frightful massacres, the unheard-of ruin that this answer implies. Day by day the journals of the Allies repeat, with an enervating and disgusting monotony, a wearisome anthem like a litany: "Along the whole front a huge battle, from the Swiss frontiers to the shores of Flanders; no notable change has been produced. The German attacks have been everywhere repulsed and considerable losses have been inflicted on them."

As to the losses of the Allies, they are hardly referred to. In reply to a member of Parliament, the British Government has recently admitted that in 75 days the "casualties," to use the English euphemism, amounted to 57,000. During the ten days of the battles of the Yser those of the Belgians were reckoned at 12,000. Competent military authorities estimate that if the war should last a year 75 per cent of the soldiers will be killed or wounded—that is to say, that in 16 months all the combatants will be maimed or dead.

It is estimated that at the present moment 20,000,000 men are under arms, and those who in their wicked dream wish for a fight to a finish, to the final exhaustion, to a collective suicide, are talking of levies *en masse* which would bring up the effective armies to 40,000,000 combatants destined to become 40,000,000 corpses or invalids.

It must finish some day, unless in their turn the mothers and daughters are armed, and already in London women have shouldered the rifle and are being trained for the impious work of death; they who are by destiny and duty the creators of life.

*From the December number of "Concord."